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THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

IRELAND VIEWED IN ITS PAST AND PRESENT STATE.

Is Ireland fated ever to become prosperous? Are there to be no years of peace and plenty in the cycle of her existence? Must the wind still blow, and the pelting rain still beat, and summer seasons never shine, when men can collect under the shade in peace, and some one, in happy assurance, announce, that "the fruit of our land *shall* be excellent?"

We confess that, looking back on past, and abroad upon present events, we light upon little that gives the anticipating promise of such halcyon days being in store for our country. We presume not to be prophets—and do not venture to prescribe remedies. We see the horizon overcharged with clouds, and despairing for the fortunes of our country, feel a longing for a lodge in the vast western wilderness, and wish that we had the wings of a dove, that we might flee away, and be at rest. Such are the musings of our moody moments; but seasons of more elastic sensation come down, when we argue with ourselves, and urge in our mental controversy, that it is a sort of moral treason to despair of the republic. We then set to work to devise auspicious possibilities for our country—some method of counteracting those complex difficulties that embarrass on every side, and which the passions, the prejudices, and hands of mischievous men have knitted and linked into a sort of magic mesh, in which this beautiful isle is enthralled. Physicians, who love hard words, say, that a diagnosis must ever precede a prognosis in the management of disease: in simple terms this means, that before it is safe to pronounce a disease curable, it is well to ascertain the cause of the complaint.

Let us, then, while writing of Ireland, look back a little to its past state; and certainly, as Shakspeare has said of true love, so it may be asserted of Ireland, from all that ever we could hear or read in tale or history, the course of Erin never yet ran smooth. Ever since history affords a record, or tradition a story, Ireland has been a theatre for faction, licentiousness, and disunion, to play their pranks upon—where the people's happiness has been the wanton sport of selfish and sanguinary leaders; and where there has been a wicked game played on their passions, in order to mould them to give a helping hand to their own misery and degradation. We really, upon looking back upon the history of Ireland, think the primeval curse has fallen heavier on it than elsewhere. Priests have called it an island of saints—heaven knows that their saintships did it little good. No: it is rather a Circean isle, where the cup of delusion and ignorance has been held to the lips of its inhabitants to degrade and to deceive; and of the mischief-makers it may be well said, in the words of the Roman orator, *Pedidissimi est hominis fal-*

lere, eum qui passus non esset, nisi credidisset. Thus we have seen Irishmen deceiving and suffering since the days of Heber and Heremon; and, as Peter Walsh says of this Land of Ire, that "the natural provocations of heaven were peculiar to that people for near 2400 years above any other nation on the whole earth. Immortal feuds of death—tyrannical oppression of the subject—cruelty, as well of justice as of revenge—treason conspiracies—murder, even of sovereigns—effusion of blood, like water; and this without pity or remorse, or any cause, but what was slight, or vain, or ridiculous. A difference between two religious monks must engage even whole countries and families to fight it out even in battle." He then proceeds farther, and says, that "the snuffing of a candle, or the setting fire to a prince's beard, were good occasions to battle and bloodshed." Farther on, he says, "that the warlike humour of Ireland's monarchs, nobles, and princes was wholly employed in destroying each other; and so far was the Christian religion from having any effect on their character, that for four hundred years after its introduction, its princes were more fatally engaged in pursuing each other, in utterly undoing themselves, and making their country a prey to foreigners, than their Pagan predecessors." Nay, more: "even the greatest holiness of some of their very greatest and priestly saints have not been exempt from the fatality of their genius, of putting their controversies to the bloody decision of a battle." Such is the picture given by an honest Franciscan friar, in his Prospect of Ireland, of the misleaders and misled in his native land. Never, indeed, do we believe has there been a people who have been so unfairly treated by their heads and leaders—never a people who have hugged to their hearts so faithfully and so unfortunately bad customs and bad prejudices.

"If," as Sir John Davis says, "we consider the nature of Irish customs, we shall find that the people who doth use them, must of necessity, be rebels to all good government, destroying the commonwealth wherein they live, and bringing barbarity and desolation into the richest and most fruitful land in the world." Sir John Davis, of all the Englishmen that ever came into Ireland, and as Englishmen wrote about it, seems to have known the evils and the wants of the country most intimately. After two centuries' lapse, we see in his pages the characteristics of the present Irish; and moreover, we observe an acute insight into the causes that shaped the destinies and peculiarities of the people. He describes the Brehon law, under which they so long lived, as "permitting murder, rapine, and theft; and as for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, the weaker had not any remedy against the stronger, whereby it came to pass that no man could enjoy his wife, his life, or his goods in safety, if a mightier man than he had an appetite to take the same from him." He then proceeds to describe the distinctive customs which prevailed formerly, whereby "the people had no security for property or life, no man could call his house or land his own," and all Ireland subject to the lawless wills of barbarous chieftains, for ever contending and warring with each other, turned this fertile island into one wide waste, where the wolf in the wood held disputed sovereignty with beings not less ferocious and contentious than himself.

Such was the state of Ireland for centuries before and after the English conquest; for the Norman leaders, who drove before them the Milesians, as the Spaniards did the Mexicans, soon learned to relish and take up with the lawless licence and the trampling power which the Irish petty kings enjoyed; and so the De Burgo, the De Lacy, or the Geraldine, adopted the Irish habit, language, and licence, with as wild a fling

as the Anglo-American backwoodsman and squatter now adapts himself to the Indian wampum, warfare, and customs. And so the Earls of Desmond, Clanricarde, and Kildare became *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*. Such was the state of Ireland until the Reformation: to England but a profitless conquest—neither to be considered a colony or a kingdom—an outlying lordship to the English monarch—where the feudaries gave little honour and less tribute to the Suzerain, and where the Milesian or Anglo-Norman chieftain equally disputed the writs, proclamations, or attainders of their liege lord.

Under these circumstances the Reformation commenced, and it, alas! which was a blessing to other countries—their best boon from heaven, conducive to mental education, elevation, and all that could make nations great and good—was to Ireland but an increase of disunion, a new ingredient of bitterness cast into her cup. It gave occasion to foreign nations to interfere in the connexion between England and Ireland; and it would appear that Desmond and O’Neil rejected the reformed religion, not in respect of any peculiar love they felt for the old church, but because the new was adopted and urged on their acceptance by the Saxon churls.

The description which Spenser, Stanihurst, Campian, and Moryson give us of the state of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, when Spanish intrigue and Papal bulls urged on the southern and northern chieftains to rebellion; the extreme wretchedness and sweeping desolation to which the poor people were reduced, while supporting the mad and ignorant schemes of their rulers, is enough to make the flesh creep on the reader’s bones; and he rises from the perusal of such unheard-of suffering with the conviction, that never in any country or in any age of the world has there been such a commentary on the poet’s text—

“*Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.*”

There is one curious circumstance, however, in the state of Ireland. Let her suffer however she will—let war diminish her population—let famine and disease sweep away her people, till there is even but a *little* remnant left—and yet a short interval of peace restores all. Men breed with astonishing rapidity; the natural resources of the country speedily develop themselves: less than half a century of what in Ireland is called quiet, revives, restores, and invigorates. Such was the case with Ireland when James the First came to the throne. The island was desolate and destitute—in less than forty years it was a comparatively flourishing country. Let James have been to England and Scotland what he might, he was the best king Ireland saw. He completed the plantation of Ulster; and, had his plans been carried into effect, the plantation of the other provinces would have taken place in like manner. He brought the English law and English manners, and English respect for property, within the reach of the people; and had he introduced, which he did not, into Ireland the admirable system of RELIGIOUS education which was established in his native country, he would, humanly speaking, have saved the island from the complicated calamities that have poured their vials upon its bosom. James, confessedly, did a great deal. Every man who now looks to the province of Ulster as the great connecting link that is likely still to bind Ireland fast to Great Britain, may thank James for it; and every demagogue and every priest, who since his day would, by secret treason, foreign intrigue, or open rebellion, separate Ireland from England, looks to James’s plantation in Ulster as the great, and mighty, and insuperable barrier to all his plots and enterprises.

James certainly broke down the power and influence of the great Irish chieftains : Desmond destroyed—O'Neil quelled—M'Carty, and O'Sullivan, and O'Donnell expatriated—the O'Connor and the M'Earls, William Eighter and Oughter crushed—Ireland reduced to English jurisprudence, and the sheriffs in their respective counties enabled to execute their writs. Through these measures, which were entirely English, Ireland enjoyed a peace for forty-one years from the accession of James, in which population, and commerce, and wealth increased in a surprising degree, and Ireland advanced rapidly towards civilization and prosperity. But the evil of James's measures was, that while he broke down the spirit of clanship, while he put an end to the tyrannous influence of the Irish chieftains over their people, and the caunfinny could no longer, with his cessings, cosherings, and bonaught, exercise his ceaseless and undefined tyranny over his sept ; James, in separating the mass of the people from their old heads and leaders, put nothing sufficient in its place ; for the lower orders were not trained or educated to this independence ; and therefore they turned themselves over into the hands and under the power of idle and profligate incendiaries, and of a foreign-influenced priesthood, who availed themselves of the degradation of the old chiefs, to assume the place that they formerly held in the people's submissive-ness and affections. And from that day to this the power of the land is with the priests and their subservient demagogues—subservient we say, for no Irish demagogue has ever wrought upon the Romish population of Ireland except by their means. It is not within our scope to enlarge upon the history of Ireland ; we only desire to catch at those points that may illustrate our position, that the people have been misled, to their own misery and degradation, and that it is owing to the misdirection, intentionally given them, that to this day they neither enjoy, or desire to enjoy, the benefits of the British constitution, or to partake of the identity of the British empire. During the rebellion of 1641, the old nobility and gentry endeavoured to recover their power over the Irish people : they associated at Kilkenny ; they formed a general assembly, where they enacted some excellent laws for the benefit of Ireland : they did their best to retain the people in their allegiance to Charles the First, and to restrain the influence of the priests, and their seditious demagogues—but in vain. The clergy got the better in the struggle—succeeded in overawing the supreme council—succeeded in raising the great body of the people, *en masse*, against their own generals, nobles, and gentry ; and availing themselves of the national aversion to Protestant England, which they themselves had cherished and kept alive, drove the people, and their subservient leaders, eagerly to adopt such doctrines and practices as tended to separate both countries.

Such were the successful operations, as described by Dr. O'Connor,* of the Romish priesthood, in the rebellion of 1641 ; every successive leader felt his eloquence fruitless, his patriotism but as the crackling of thorns, unless he made a common cause with the priests : and so Roger O'Moore, who began the insurrection, and evinced, even at that early period, how apt lawyers are to commence,† but how utterly unfit they are to go through with the bold bad work of revolution, he withdrew from a contest, in which he thought he could make religion his tool, but found to his cost that he must be its tool himself. Then came Owen Roe O'Neil, and he saw no chance of success but in making himself the

* See Letters of Columbanus, *passim*

† Aristotle well says, that nothing destroys a political government so soon as the petulancy of its orators.

subservient slave of the clergy. Even Preston himself, the loyal, high-minded Preston, with all his Anglo-Norman blood in his veins, was obliged to crouch under the feet of the pope's nuncio ; and when he saw his army at Leixlip deserting him, acknowledged that even *he* was not excommunication proof. The consequence of all this was, that the king's lord lieutenants, one a Protestant (Ormond) and the other a Roman Catholic (Clanricarde), were driven out of the country ; the kingdom set up to sale on the Continent of Europe, and offered to the highest popish bidder. And while it was a common toast, as the high and boastful effervescence of Irish patriotism, to drink to the health of the Trinity—God, the Nuncio, and Owen Roe O'Neill—priest Cornelius O'Mahony* was ordered to write a tract, in which it was declared to be contrary to reason, right, and religion, that Ireland should have any other than a native, Milesian, and Catholic king. Such were the positions that the clergy, and those who submitted blindly to their power, enforced in that day ; and to the attainment of such objects, did they commit the people in a struggle with England, which ended in the confiscation of five millions of acres, and the transfer of the property of Ireland to the Cromwellian adventurers.

To the same spirit of hostility to England, and a connection with its free laws and Protestant institutions, we may trace the war of the revolution. A determination to break down the act of settlement, to restore the tithes to the Romish clergy, to upset all Protestant corporations, to Romanise the University of Dublin, to separate from England : these were objects for which Tyrconnel, urged on by his brother, the Romish archbishop of Armagh, contended : for this again the party offered themselves to do the will of France—for this they again cast the die in the hazardous game of war, and took the chance of another confiscation. The penal laws were the result of these two great experiments, on the part of the Irish, to sever themselves from England, and to recover an independence and sovereignty in church and state.

Every successive conquest, from the days of Strongbow to that of William the Third, was followed by the determination of England, to colonize this country with a people who would continue attached to the connection between the two islands. If these attempts had been made by Romans, in ancient times, or by French, or Spaniards, or Russians, in modern, there would have been a remorseless perseverance in keeping up to the spirit of the conquest ; and good care would have been taken to prevent the fallen and vassal people from ever again regaining strength to try the issue of another insurrection : it would have been, indeed, in the full spirit of the victors insult, "*Vae victis* ;" but it was not so with the English settled in Ireland ; never were severe laws more mercifully administered ; never was honour, humanity, and pity, for a proscribed religion and people more tenderly exhibited, than in the conduct of the Protestants to the Roman Catholics, from the period of the enactment of the penal laws, until the commencement of their abolition, in the reign of George the Third. It is true, that for sixty or seventy years, the Roman Catholics of Ireland make no figure in the page of Ireland's history. The subdued race did not venture to lift up their head ; but during that time, they were quietly permitted to acquire property ; their clergy were allowed, without molestation, to carry on their rites ; and perhaps there was more quiet and prosperous happiness, and more

* See the reprint of the curious tract, entitled, "*Disputatio Apologetica pro Regno Hiberniæ.*"

cordial feeling towards each other, on the part of both Protestants and Romanists, that ever can possibly occur again. The Protestant gentlemen and clergymen were scouted out of society, that dare attempt, even under allowed law, to insult, molest, or take advantage of their Roman Catholic brethren. We appeal to the recollection of aged persons, whether this was not the case: we call up the reminiscences of many, who may remember the early part of the reign of George the Third, to bear witness that Ireland never has since seen so much good will and good neighbourhood as then existed between the professors of rival faiths. We are far from advocating the penal laws in their enactment—we think they were subversive of the best interests of civil polity, as well as inconsistent with the great Protestant principle of religious tolerance—we feel quite sure, that if Protestantism in Ireland had endeavoured to fortify herself, not by fencing her encampment with a *cheveux de frize* of intolerant statutes, but had taken up the great missionary cause of the gospel, and had sent forth her ministers to preach, and teach, and work, in season and out of season: if she had worked the great engine of the Irish language, and proffered the people the religion of God's blessed word in the tongue they loved and revered: if starting from the hedge of bayonets and penal laws, her ministers had pushed, like valiant soldiers of the cross, into the enemy's strong holds, and challenged the priests to meet them on fair and equal grounds, we believe there would be few subjects of the pope now in Ireland.

Certain we are, that the penal laws were conducive to the spread and continuance of Romanism in Ireland, while they were injurious to the propagation of the religious principles of the reformation. The penal laws operated like every unrighteously severe code; they caused their own penalties and sanctions to fall into disuse, evasion, and contempt; they excited a feeling of pity and courtesy towards those who were pronounced as sufferers; they threw almost the halo of martyrdom over men who had all the credit without the pain: but there was a worse evil than this; there was infused into the Irish mind a spirit, a pleasure, nay, almost a principle, in evading the existing laws; and men seemed now to consider the law as their enemy, which it was fair to take advantage of or outrage, as opportunity served. The priests stood, as it were, between the people and the law; and from them they took counsel, upon their advice on all occasions they retreated; they were to them the Druids and the Brehons, unto whose unwritten dicta they gave implicit faith and implicit obedience; and so, to this day, *this* power of the priesthood continues to obscure the law, to nullify its sanctions, and assuage its terrors.

After forty years extinction of the penal laws, the priest still insinuates himself as a sort of mediator between the statutes of the realm and the prejudices of the people; and in but too many instances have magistrates encouraged that power; and even the heads of his majesty's government, when it served a temporary purpose, have lauded the Romish clergy for their exercise of it; and thus they have been invested with a sort of moral sovereignty in the country, and are constituted, as it were, the tribunes of the people. We confess we have observed this agency all along, as operating in Ireland, since the days of queen Anne. We could adduce very many specifications of its influence, from the time of Doctor O'Leary and the White Boys, to its delegated consignment, by Dr. Doyle,* into the hands of Daniel O'Connell. We also think we see a

* The Morning Chronicle, the ablest advocate in England of the Roman Catholic cause, which, before emancipation was granted, used all its influence over public opinion to prove, that there could be no peace for Ireland without the relief bill; and

little further into this mystery, and have satisfied ourselves why it is that this priestly power, though often assuming a peaceful and tranquillizing character, never really succeeds in that end ; but whenever it is put forth to encourage agitators, to organize a club, a union, a rent tribute, or association, it is in this way eminently successful, and so the people seem very well to have understood Doctor O'Leary, when he wrote against tithes, and the injustice of paying them ; and therefore, like good and obedient White Boys, they rose in insurrection : but when he wrote also that they should *not* use FORCE, or bury alive a proctor, or burn out of house and home a parson ; they then also understood the Doctor, and they were *disobedient*. In the same way, when in 1786, the Right Boys rose in Kilkenny and Tipperary, there was a most assuaging address to the people from Dr. Troy, telling them that the Right Boy oath was wrong ; for which pastoral, Mr. Secretary Orde thanked the worthy titular of Ossory.* But did the people obey ? No ; and they had their own reasons for disobedience ; and their own catechism taught them to believe unto whom it was right and proper to pay tithes. Therefore it is that we think we see in the Romanists of Ireland a sort of intuitive tact, by which *they* can ascertain whether the advice that comes to them in the shape of pastorals, &c. is to be taken or not : they could very well see that it was intended that Doctor Hussey, (who was first provost of Maynooth, then bishop of Waterford, and afterwards a Roman prince,) gave *serious* advice, when he announced, in favour of the French republic, that as the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations and to all people, so it is suitable to all forms of government, monarchies, and REPUBLICS, aristocracies, and DEMOCRACIES. Thus the Romanists of Wexford, when they heard Doctor Caulfield, their bishop, modestly protest against the murder of their Protestant townsmen, knew how to *disobey* him ; but they were very ready to *obey* his inferior priest, who urged them to a very contrary practice. Thus, when Doctor Doyle enjoins his friends at Carlow or Kilkenny to obey the laws, they feel a liberty of disobedience ; when he directs them to burn or to bury a Bible, and when he assures them it would not be consistent with their Catholicity to rise in favour of their king, in case rebellion raged from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, unless all their demands were satisfied : here he has all hearts responsive, and they can appreciate the full sincerity of their pastor. We might pursue this matter much farther, and state, in a thousand instances, how the contempt for the law, which the Irish exhibit, is fostered by their clergy, who desire still to stand, as it were, the mediators between the Draconic laws of the Saxon rulers, and the afflicted people. Hence arises one sure and certain consequence, connected with the conduct of a Roman Catholic at the gallows : let him

that all peace, and content, and harmony, would ensue from that *healing* measure, now tells us, " that the Catholic clergy will never be satisfied, so long as there is a Protestant church in Ireland." Again, he says, " three thousand priests possess the confidence of five millions of paupers ; and even their leader, O'Connell, must only be looked on as an individual who is identified with them : and there is not a priest in Ireland who has not again and again turned over in his mind how the church can be attacked with most advantage : there is not a priest in Ireland who will ever rest till the object is effected." Well, what more says our worthy journalist : " We dare not believe that conciliation is impossible ; if we wish to preserve the union, we must not have the priests in hostility to the government." In other words, that is to say, sacrifice every Protestant institution in Ireland to satisfy the lasting hatred of popish priests.

* Doctor Troy, in his Pastoral Instructions, page 103, says, " We wish that all Protestants may judge of our civil and religious principles by our catechisms," &c. &c.

be convicted on the clearest evidence as being a Rockite, a murderer, an insurgent, or an assassin, he invariably declares he dies innocent. And we appeal to the law officers who were sent by the crown to put down insurrection in the south : we appeal to the present attorney-general, whether he does not know it to be the case, that wherever a priest was admitted to superintend the last moments of a convicted felon, that the culprit declared to his shuddering, and deeply sensitive, and vengeful countrymen, that he died innocent !

We withdraw ourselves from the contemplation of this great and prominent evil, under which Ireland has suffered, and is suffering, with the conviction, that until some check is put to the influence of the Romish priesthood, in moulding, directing, and agitating the people, there will be no peace for Ireland.

We would now revert to another topic, and throw the light of past events on the present posture of affairs, in our relationship to England. The English, while Ireland was a separate kingdom, in every interval of prosperity which she enjoyed, looked on this island with jealousy : with that sensitiveness peculiar to a commercial people, saw a rival where they ought to have looked for a sister, and cherished her. So early as the reign of Charles the Second, the English began to object to the introduction of even the raw produce of Ireland, and it became a serious complaint with the English house of commons, that Irish cattle were brought into England, and votes were passed, denouncing such a practice as a detriment and a nuisance. In the same way, William the Third was urged to put down the Irish woollen trade ; and the linen was only permitted, because England had not yet acquired a method whereby she could manufacture as cheap and as good an article as the Irish. It was this jealousy that caused all the turmoil and all the debate about the claim of Ireland to free trade, and about Orde's Propositions : these jealousies and this rivalry subsisting on the part of both countries, from the year 1780 to the period of the union, caused all the sins against political economy and the liberty of trade, in the shape of bounties, non-importations, non-purchasing English goods, of which our countrymen were so patriotically and so absurdly guilty. The fact was, that Ireland was no more able to cope as an independent country in the way of trade and manufactures than she was in war—no ; nor ever will : and therefore it was, that as the weaker and the poorer ought ever to seek a community of interest and good with their richer neighbours ; so it would have averted great evil, if at the time that the poor Scotch so unwillingly were forced upon their own welfare to unite with England, Ireland, still poorer, and more obstinate, had been constrained to do the same ; but it was not so : and when Ireland, in the year 1782, claimed and secured their legislative independence, then came the tug of war between conflicting English and Irish interests ; then it was that her fervid patriots, Grattan, and Flood, and Burgh, and Langrishe, talked of excluding English manufacture, talked of absentee taxes, of making separate wars and peaces—would insist on a share in the East Indian trade—would go to war with Portugal—would divide with England on that momentous subject, the regency question, and, therefore, others improving on their views, would adopt the democratic principles and tenets of the Jacobins of France, rather than adhere to the sound old Whig principles that dictate a love to the British constitution—would form an association, called the United Irishmen, whose real object was—as it now is of O'Connell and his priest-influenced party—to separate the two countries, to seek for the

countenance, the support, if not the union with France. These were the measures of the Irish PATRIOTS, as they called themselves, whose theory—but they never could reduce it to practice—was to unite all classes of Irishmen, Romanists, Presbyterians, and Protestants, in a union, with a view to a separation from England; and these were the absurd, wicked, and ruinous machinations, which called on all thinking and honest men, who really desired the welfare of the British empire, the existence of freedom and Protestantism in Ireland, to carry into effect the measure of a legislative union, and to incorporate into one two conflicting interests, whose disputes and jealousies were continually on the increase. The Protestants of Ireland were often and eloquently told, at the period of the union, that it was worse than foolish, it was suicidal on their parts, to object to a union which secured them in their estates, which gave a free access to the produce of their properties to a British market—which opened the ports of every British colony to their trade—and which also opened Ireland to the introduction of British capitalists, and the enterprise of British capital. But still, Protestant patriots were then found, and we are told, are still to be found, who object to the union; and they *were* mad enough, and *are* mad enough, to suppose that they have a better brother, a more faithful friend, and a more cordial compatriot in the Irish Romanist, with all his untamed ferocity, with all his subservience to a bigot priest, with all his reminiscences of the feuds, confiscations of seven hundred years, than in a union and identity of interest, of laws and legislature, with his brethren of England and Scotland.

We confess, that when we saw the union carried into operation—and we were young and enthusiastic in the cause of Ireland at that time—we by no means approved, neither do we now, of the methods used to bring the most corrupt set of men that ever any nation produced—namely, the Irish parliament—to adopt this measure; but we were constrained to agree to this consolidation, because, through its means, we saw the only way in which the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland could be admitted into the full benefits of the constitution; because we saw that it was only by means of such an incorporation and union of all Protestants, that the Irish Protestant could safely give his Romanish brethren emancipation; and under the preponderance and invulnerable greatness of England, venture to be generous, and say with safety, *I can concede*. We believe there were many Protestants in Ireland at that time who, with ourselves, were really unionists, because emancipators, and who, in the course of the subsequent thirty years, having looked with watchful, and often weeping eyes, to the deep unmitigable hatred to England, expressed by the popish agitators, observing their inveterate hostility to all her civil and religious institutions, the avowed affection they have showed towards France, whether republican or imperial, to the unmeasured hatred which they have exhibited towards the established and all Protestant dissenting churches, to the ceaseless agitation and the everlasting fever that has been kept up in Ireland by priests and demagogues. These things opened our eyes, and at once convinced us, that though emancipation was a righteous measure on the part of Protestants to concede, and inconsistent with the character and spirit of England to withhold; still, assured we were, that it would not satisfy, nor conciliate, nor amalgamate, and that nothing short of the predominance of the popish priesthood, and a separation of the two islands in the shape of an Irish kingdom or republic, would come up to the desires of the party.

It would, perhaps, have been better, since emancipation was to be granted, that it had been conceded by Mr. Pitt at the time of the union ; not, we are sure, that bishops Hussey, England, or Doyle ; not that the Keoghs, the M'Cormicks, the Drumgooles, or O'Connells would have rejoiced or been satisfied ; but it would have taken pretexts out of their mouths, and made them declare themselves what they really were and are, inimical to ALL connection with Protestant England. But to any one who has observed the conduct of the agitators with any sort of scrutiny, it must have been evident that their object was still to keep the people ignorant, poor, and disaffected—to keep up the middle wall of separation between English and Irishmen—to keep an insurrectionary spirit in the land sufficient to frighten away British capitalists and resident landlords—still to retain the people within the influence of the priests—still to make the country uncomfortable to Protestants, and urge them to emigrate—still to cover the land with a pauper population, which has nothing to lose, and every thing to gain by a revolution, a population so great, so fearfully increasing, and now so unmanageable, that the priest can only carry on with respect to them, the routine of ritual duties ; marry, christen, anoint, and bury ; but whom it is quite impossible to teach, even if so inclined, the moral duties and sanctions of Christianity. We repeat, that any one who has watched the speeches or writings of such men as Drumgoole, or Scully, or O'Connell, must have observed how, as was said of Drumgoole, they have let the cat out of the bag ; and that they all, as well as he, were desirous to cut the painter.

We want space as well as opportunity to show, that in the present anti-union, or rather separative proceedings of O'Connell and his party, there is nothing new, or that was unpractised by the Jacobins and United Irishmen, thirty-six years ago. If O'Connell is now anxious for a union of the northern Protestants with the southern Romanists, so were the Roman Catholic committee of that day : and as O'Connell now has succeeded with certain Arian dissenters and radical deists in the north, and in Dublin, so there was a union thirty-eight years ago between the infidels, Russell, Wolfe Tone, Todd Jones, and the Catholic committee, composed of such men as M'Cormick, Sweetman, Byrne, Braughall : the object of this union was, as Tone expresses it, "to subvert the tyranny of our execrable government—to break the connection with England—to unite the whole people of Ireland." These were Tone's thoughts, but not those of the Catholic committee : Tone, poor enthusiast, was but intended to be a tool. Tone, and all his infidel crew, had they been permitted to carry their union into effect, would have been treated as O'Connell and his paymasters, the priests, would treat the silly Dublin Protestant shop-keepers, who now, in the hope of bettering their business, would cast off the union with England, to unite with Ireland's FINE PEASANTRY ; and who would coolly see the British empire dismembered, in the hope of having a popish parliament sitting in the city of Dublin. O'Connell hates England—he makes no secret of his aversion to the Saxons ; he has reviled the English, and vituperated them with every evil epithet that his coarse mind and vulgar education could supply him. This head of the new race of United Irishmen is not singular ; for Tone, the leader of the old United Irishmen, says, " My object was to secure the independence of my country, under any form of government, to which I was led by a HATRED TO ENGLAND, SO DEEPLY ROOTED in my nature, that it was rather an instinct than a *principle*."

Such, then, is now the state of Ireland, after thirty years of union

with England ; during all which time agitation has grown, insurrections have followed each other in different parts of the island. Insecurity for life and property has debarred English capitalists from investing their funds in the purchase of our lands, or in the establishment of manufactures ; and all these, we were told, would have been cured by the Roman Catholic relief bill : but such has not been the case, and such those who knew Ireland well, said could not be the case. The people, who were brought forth in all their thousands to agitate in favour of it, and who were told by O'Connell that if it was carried, the rent of land would be lowered, and the rate of labour would be raised—that every poor Pat should have two shillings a-day, and every poor Biddy or Nora a shilling. They now find that none of these things have taken place, and they are in insurrection to obtain for themselves those desirable objects. The priests also find that really the emancipation has done nothing for the true church ; they cannot go about *yet* in procession—they cannot yet circumambulate the city, compelling all people to bow the knee to their host. The hated Establishment still stares them in the face—they who cannot brook a rival see, still scowl at what they hate as a superior. What is it to them that Lord Killeen, or Mr. Wise, or even O'Connell or O'Gorman Mahon are in Parliament ? What is it to them that they are richer and more worshipped than the priests of any other church ? What is it to them that they stand between the people and the laws ? What are all these things to them, as long as the Established Church, like Mordecai, sits at the king's gate ? Therefore it is that Dr. Doyle, vested in great authority, has come forward to say that the union ought to be repealed. Therefore is it that they have raised a tribute for O'Connell, as a retaining fee to carry on their work ; for assured they are, that without a repeal of the union, or separation from England, they cannot overthrow Protestantism in Ireland, or succeed in keeping the people much longer in that abject ignorance, submissiveness, and moral prostration in which they now lie and crawl under their feet. Mr. O'Connell we hold, with all his cleverness, his blustering wantonness, and irritability of wounded feelings, with respect to England, is but a tool in the hands of deeper men ; and if a revolution was to take place, of which he would be the first performer, he may rest assured he would not see out much more than the first act. The liberator would not and must not be the king, or the Cromwell, or the Napoleon of Ireland—he has not the stern stuff for that work. There is a time for *talking up* a revolution—there is also a time for *acting it* through halts and through blood. We know that the man who is instigated, as he is, by the little, paltry, pettish motives, that now urge him on to commit England and Ireland in a civil war, cannot be fitted for the Bonaparte, not to speak of the Washington or the Bolivar, or even the Doctor Francia of Ireland. We know that he who could be stung to the quick by the scorn that was poured on him in the British house of commons, where we have seen him sit in the singleness of his own vulgarity, actually coughed down by the contempt of the house, and secreting, under his slouched hat and scowling brow, the malignant Milesian hatred, that prompted him to call for a repeal of the union, in order to sever Ireland from England—we are assured that the destinies of such a man are not spun so as to enrobe him in the splendour of a dictatorship or a king ; and we would, as far as our powers go, endeavour to disabuse, at least, our Protestant brethren, from being the tool of this tool of the priests—from being the dupe of this dupe of his own bitter antipathies—from being the

victim of a man who is likely to become the victim even of those who consider him now as their liberator and their elect king.

We find Ireland agitated in all its provinces. We find the same practice exactly as heretofore. The Catholic committee met in Dublin for the redress of grievances, and the defenders arose in the provinces, and bound themselves by unlawful oaths to do unlawful deeds. The Catholic committee and the Catholic clergy warned these defenders not to act so *illegally*—but still the defenders knew what they were about, and they robbed and rioted in their own way. Some ten years since the Catholic board assembled in Dublin, and Doctors Drumgoole and Doyle wrote and spoke very eloquent things against the church and state; and so in Limerick, and Cork, and Tipperary, rose the Ribbonmen and Whiteboys, and what not; and Doctor Doyle, and the Catholic board, and Catholic association, wrote, and spoke, and issued pastorals and manifestoes, warning the people not to agitate so illegally, so unmercifully. But no; the people knew what they were about, and so they murdered, and burned, and carded and cut off ears and noses in their own way; for Captain Rock knew the mysteries of his secret instructions, and could understand the countersign as well as the sign.

In this way at present, the people rise in Kilkenny—they will rise elsewhere before long. They are warned by O'Connell and the clergy that they are doing wrong; but act their own way *they will*; and if the Presbyterians of the north can be cajoled and persuaded, through the selfish lure of holding cheap land, and getting rid of tithe, to join the “parti prêtre,” then we shall have another consuming rebellion; and the northern Protestants may see the fire flashing from another Scullabogue barn, to cast its fearful light over the path into which they are misled.

We have already in a former Number of this work enlarged on the folly and madness of any man, who has one thought of Protestantism in his heart, or one drop of British blood in his veins, being induced to join this cry for a repeal of the union. We warn them again, that if they continue to advocate such a cause, they run every chance of involving their country in a civil war, in which, if unsuccessful, they will meet the fate of traitors, and, if successful, they will submit their country to the licentiousness of a people, who, by their religion, ignorance, and unsteady character, are as yet no more fitted for a free and constitutional government, than are the Sicilians, the Portuguese, or the Spaniards. Let the Protestants rest assured, that if there be a repeal of the union, there must be separation; and, in order to separate, they must form a bond of union with those with whom they will find no peace. No; let the Protestants of Ireland rally round the union ensign of Britain—let them patiently await the reforms and plans for the improvement of the island, which are now maturing under the eyes of our new ministry; and we shall then hope well for our country and the empire, and for the prosperity of every one that loves peace and true religion. We purpose taking up the subject in another Number.